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Dances Associated with War

535 726 787 The term "war dance" has been so loosely used in the literature that it is sometimes difficult even to determine whether a particular ritual precedes or follows a battle. More subtle differences are even less frequently reflected in the accounts. However, several patterns may be tentatively isolated in the Plateau: (1) a dance seeking supernatural protection or prediction of success; (2) a dance of incitement; (3) a parade dance in solicitation of recruits; (4) a dance by the women during a war party's absence; (5) a processional dance by the returning war party after a victory; (6) a victory dance in the home camp.

The above is a conceptual classification, not an historical one. Relations of the latter nature will appear in the discussion.

The dance seeking supernatural aid or protection, or the supernatural prediction of success or failure, is spread from the Carrier to the Klamath along the western edge of the Plateau. It is described by Teit for the Thompson and western Shuswap:

> Before departing the [Shuswap] warriors held a war dance similar to that customary among the Thompson Indians. The war shaman sang alone, and danced in a circle, moving against the sun. He prayed in his song for success of the party, and that their enemies might become as women. When he had finished his shaman's song and incantations, the war chief, decorated in feathers and war-paint, joined him and struck up his war-song. Then all of the warriors followed and danced in a circle, moving in a direction against the course of the sun, singing, and dashing their spears to each side and praying that they might thus easily kill their enemies.

Besides such activities as these, various semi-magical means were used to determine specific details regarding the enterprise. A rather elaborate procedure was followed by the Shuswap:

> All the men put contributions of dried fish in a pile, some giving more, and others less. Then the shaman cut up all the fish, and distributed the pieces to the warriors, who sat in a circle, making the rounds in the direction opposite to the sun's course. Each warrior had to receive an equal number of pieces, without any being left over. If the shaman did not succeed in making an even division, he took the fish back, placed them in a heap, and covered them with a blanket. He retired to a spot a short distance away, danced, and sang, facing the pile, and using his shamanistic power to make the division come out even the next time. If he failed four times in this division of the war provisions, it was considered a bad omen, and the party did not start.[77]

[77] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 611, see also p. 543; see Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 356.

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An identical account of prediction ritual was given to me by the Fraser River Shuswap adjacent to the Carrier, but the latter tribe does not share the practice, nor do any other Plateau tribes, as far as I could ascertain. This procedure smacks strongly of the Coast and it is hardly to be doubted that this was its ideological source. But the more specific Coast practices of prediction by counting mistaken steps of dancers or examining the hands for blood are found only among the Carrier, where, it will be recalled, shamans are war leaders.

Lillooet dances for supernatural aid are very similar, but are held after the party has departed.[78]

Southward, among the Wishram, the same objectives are sought, but dreams play a prominent role:

> A war dance took place before dawn of the first night of the expedition, in which dreams prefiguring the conflict were related. "We dreamt that we all became covered with blood. And then in the morning our chief said: 'Now do you make a fire and I shall tell you something.' So then we got up from bed, and then we took hold of [notched rasps]. And then we sang, now strongly we sang. And then the hero said: 'Now I shall tell you people what I dreamt. Now this day we shall die. I have seen the Paiutes. If we are to see them, it will rain.' Thus said the hero. And again we sang rubbing the [notched rasps] together. And again one man said: 'Now I shall tell you what I, for my part, dreamt. A grizzly bear ran away from us toward the setting sun. And then we caught only the grizzly bear's son. Thus did I dream.' And the people yelled their war-whoop."[79]

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And again, among the Klamath, a similar pattern is encountered. A preparatory performance

> is an indispensable preliminary to a raiding party. It can hardly be styled a war dance, as it is doubtful that it contains any true dance form. It is held in the open for from one to three nights depending on the size of the group engaged. It consists essentially of two things, mimicry of an onslaught by the warriors and prevision of their success by a shaman.[80]

Spinden writes of the Nez Percé that,

> In the ancient War dance there were two lines of dancers and a leader. Time was kept by rubbing a round stick up and down over a notched stick sewed to a stiff piece of hide. The songs were individual, as were those of the Scalp dance and the Guardian Spirit dance, and apparently were very much

[78] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 235.
[79] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 229 f.
[80] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 29 f.

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like them. . . . It is evident that the warriors sang songs according to the nature of their guardian spirits.[81]

Among the Coeur d'Alêne the dance held before going to war originally seems to have been the same as the war dance performed by the Thompson and northern Salish tribes, and similar to an older form in vogue among the Nez Percé. In later days the steps of the dance and some other details were modified, probably under the influence of the Flathead and eastern tribes. In the old form the guardian spirit element was more pronounced than in the modern form, which lacks this element almost entirely. It seems also that the oldest form of the dance was to a greater degree imitative of battle than the modern dance, which is reduced more to a set form for all dancers, and allows less freedom of action to the individual.[82]

It is somewhat doubtful that the change was a gradual one; more probably it was a substitution, since quite different notions lie behind the two dances. The old form involved sweating, the solicitation of aid from guardian spirits, and a dance sequence which was essentially of a wishful type, the imitation of a successful encounter. The later form was the incitement dance, the second type above. The procedure is much more highly formalized, as Teit points out. But more important are these facts: it does not involve guardian spirits or magic; it is not a plea for success; it does not include war antics or simulation of battle; it is, as the name implies, a dance of incitement, a type of physically intense group activity in which emotional tone is built up to a feverish pitch.

This interpretation is supported by statements of the Nez Percé as reported by Spinden:

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Little could be learned about the ancient War dance of the Nez Percés. In the early part of the eighteenth century it was abandoned and the War dance of the Crow Indians substituted. The warriors of the Nez Pérce tribe crawled up to the Crow camps under cover of darkness and learned the songs of their War dance. The first War dance obtained from the Crows was later replaced by another. In this later dance, syllables, not words, were used.[83]

This imported dance of incitement spread to the Umatilla, Yakima, Columbia, and perhaps even farther. Since its adoption it has undergone considerable modification, both through local specialization and continued borrowing of isolated elements from the Plains war complex,

[81] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 264 f.
[82] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 187.
[83] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 264.

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particularly in the matters of regalia and drumming. It has thus come definitely to be a Plateau ceremonial in organization and execution; it does not closely parallel any specific Plains dance.

It has also become specialized in function. The dance persists strongly to this day; obviously it is no longer a "war dance" in function. Instead it has come to be a purely social dance, and still more formalized than earlier. Even with its new interpretation, however, it is not danced by the Sanpoil, Teit to the contrary.[84]

The third dance type, wherein volunteers for a war party are solicited, includes a processional as well as a dance. It is found only in the eastern and southeastern Plateau. Among the Coeur d'Alêne, when war was decided upon

> the chief (?) took a blanket and beat time on it with a short stick, at the same time singing a war song. Others took hold of the blanket and did likewise, joining in the song. The party turned around slowly in a circle contra-sunwise as they sang. Each who joined by taking hold of the blanket pledged himself as a member of the war party. . . . If an individual decided to go to war and wanted companions he took a robe and beat time on it with a short stick. He sang his war song, stopping in front of every lodge. Those who wanted to join took hold of the robe and sang and beat time with him.[85]

Spinden writes of the Nez Percé:

> A portion of the ancient War dance which was not discarded was the Farewell song of the warriors before every lodge on the night before going on the war-path. The men went from lodge to lodge and paused before each, singing a song and beating time on a buffalo-hide blanket. There were many different songs employed. The women followed behind and joined in the chorus.[86]

Spinden is almost certainly wrong in interpreting this dance as ancient, or as a farewell. In describing the Plains war complex, Smith states,

> A war dance was held in order to obtain the volunteers of whom the war party was composed. This dance was directly instigated by the prospective leader of the expedition. It might be simple in character, such as the offer and acceptance of a pipe or a march in which the volunteers took part, or the dance might be elaborate. In either case the enlistment of the warrior was sealed by his performance of the prescribed act.[87]

[84] Teit, *loc. cit.*
[85] *Idem*, p. 188.
[86] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 265.
[87] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 449 f.

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177 This dance for volunteers is shown to be widespread in the Plains and well integrated in the complex. It undoubtedly reached the Plateau at a late date. Spinden's interpretation is apparently the result of native rephrasing in recent days. The dance is still held regularly by the Nez Percé.

In the fourth type of dance associated with war, that performed by the women during the absence of the war party, we suspect influence from the opposite direction, the Coast. Extensive restrictions govern the actions of women on the Coast, not only during warfare, but while men are engaged in hunting. In connection with war, the women's dance is common. In the Plateau it is found only among the Thompson and Okanogan, apparently the result of a diffusion up the Fraser Valley.

[722] While the [Thompson] men were on the war-path, the women performed dances at frequent intervals. These dances were believed to secure the success of the expedition. The dancers flourished their knives, threw long sharp-pointed sticks forward, or drew sticks with hooked ends repeatedly backward and forward. Throwing the sticks forward was symbolic of piercing or fighting off the supposed enemy, and drawing them back was symbolic of drawing their men from danger. . . . If a woman had a husband in the war-party, and she thought she saw hair or part of a scalp on the weapon . . . she knew that her husband had killed an enemy. If she thought she saw blood on the weapon, it was a sign that her husband had been wounded or killed.[88]

Obviously the ideology here is the same as that of the men's dance for prediction and aid.

535 727 The processional dance of the returning victorious war party carries us back to the Plains again for the type picture.

There seems to have been no tribe of the Plains area, with the possible exception of the Arikara, in which the returning war party did not camp outside the village before making its entrance. In part, this was in order to prepare for the dances which followed; in part to make that entrance more impressive. But there can be no doubt that the return of a war party was a ceremonial affair which customarily involved the ushering of the successful warriors into the village by all or some part of those who had remained behind.[89]

When a Coeur d'Alêne war party was victorious the people went out to meet the party and escorted them into camp. The warriors marched with faces blackened and bearing the scalps on the ends of slender poles or on

[88] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 356; cf. Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 293.
[89] Smith, *War Complex*, p. 443.

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RELIGIOUS LIFE

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT CONCEPT

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The guardian spirit concept has been given more thorough comparative study than any other aspect of Northwestern culture. Benedict selected the practices of the Thompson Indians as the type picture for her general study of the concept.[1] Likewise much of her documentary data were drawn from the Northwest. Later Spier furnished a penetrating analysis for western America with the Klamath as the point of reference.[2] Very recently, under Spier's stimulation, Park made a similar but even more exhaustive analysis with the Paviotso as the point d'appui.[3]

It remains here, then, merely to add new data and inquire to what extent the conclusions of earlier writers may be modified thereby.

Descriptive Sketches

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For purposes of orientation three brief descriptions will be given, summarizing the spirit notions of the Sanpoil, the Kutenai, and the Carrier. These are selected because they represent high points in the differential development of the complex in the interior, and will provide bases upon which intervening variations may be pictured. Two other equally important groups for reference are the Thompson and the Klamath, but these, as indicated, have already been handled in comparative studies. Likewise the Paviotso of the Basin.

The Sanpoil pattern needs but brief résumé since it is already described in published form.[4] Spirits are non-human in character though they appear in visions and dreams in human guise. The "true" form is assumed while disappearing after the communion. The range of spirits is theoretically unlimited in both the animate and inanimate categories. Every known animal serves to some extent, though natural phenomena and inanimate objects are much less commonly exploited. Heavenly bodies do not contribute. Most spirits are generic in nature[5] but specific tutelaries are not uncommon. In the latter category fabricated objects are quite numerous.

It is incumbent upon every boy to engage in a series of one-night

[1] Benedict, *Guardian Spirit Concept.*
[2] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 239–79.
[3] Park, *Shamanism.*
[4] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 169–211.
[5] That is, the name refers abstractly to the genus, not to a specific animal.

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quests for guardian spirits during the years immediately preceding puberty. Post-pubertal quests are never made. Many girls (twenty or thirty percent) likewise observe vigils. The visionary visits obscure spots, mountain tops, or bodies of water. He ordinarily carries an object given him by his proctor, an old man. This object is not symbolic but is to be deposited at the destination to prove his faithfulness to instructions. Activities during the night include constant alertness, building of rock piles, diving in water, and imitative activities such as "playing the stick game with the spirits."

The actual experience comes in a vision, or in a dream which is interpreted as a vision. The visionary is cautioned above all not to fall asleep or even interrupt activity for rest. But a youngster of tender age doubtless finds it difficult to comply to the letter with this interdiction. Yet he surely makes an attempt, for very early in life he learns that a successful spirit experience is indispensable to any valued achievement as an adult, indeed to avoid complete social insignificance. Now the psychological state most conducive to a vision is that semi-conscious condition just preceding actual sleep, or preceding actual awareness following awakening. Add to this the physical conditions inherent in the quest—nakedness; inclement weather (often); portentous sounds of the night; strange, spirit-infested surroundings where even adults would fear to tread; abnormal activity such as playing a game with a row of rocks which may at any moment come to life—and it is surprising that a quest ever fails to result in a vision.

The vision is of a highly formulated nature. The spirit, resembling a man, appears suddenly and speaks, asserting his friendliness and desire to help the visionary to a full adult life. He offers his supernatural help in certain activities and toward general good fortune and health. Before leaving he identifies himself, gives the suppliant a song and, less often, a dance step. The visionary reaches normal consciousness with the song ringing in his ears.

The boy or girl immediately returns home but does not reveal the outcome of the quest to anyone. Subsequent vigils are kept with the hope of adding to the number of one's tutelaries. The quests are brought to an end by puberty, whereupon all of the experiences are purposely "forgotten" and never recalled until the unsolicited reappearance of the spirits at maturity (twenty-five to thirty years of age). This repression for many years explains many aspects of the guardian spirit complex. By the time the spirit returns the individual has found his place in the

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776 community. His talents are known to himself and to others, and his
787 character likewise. The type of activity which is to predominate in his
869 life is usually fixed. None of these factors could have been determined by the person's guardian spirit experiences for they had not even been thought of since puberty. When recalled after this period of forced forgetting the details of the experiences are naturally, without conscious falsification, reconstructed to fit the situation in which the individual finds himself established. The true situation is probably this: the spirit or spirits do not return (are not recalled) until the person is firmly established in life.[6]

533 The return of one's spirit is marked by a feeling of lonesomeness
756 or despondency. A shaman "removes" or "captures" the spirit, holds
776 it to his ear to "hear" the song, and returns it to the patient. The song
787 is first sung, or started, by the shaman; the patient then sings alone. Shamans are thus indicated as the effective composers of spirit songs.[7]

The type of power one receives is not the result of a specific quest objective nor correlated with the particular spirit received. Any strong spirit is capable of supplying the help required for success in any activity, including shamanism. But some spirits are consistently weaker than others; these spirits seldom presume to convey shamanistic talents, and even in other activities the help given is limited in degree.

776 Among the Kutenai the above picture is considerably modified. The
787 range of spirits is even wider, including many inanimate objects and heavenly bodies, but not mythological characters. But these spirits appear in strikingly different form. For the most part they retain their animal-like appearance in contact with man, though to youths they may appear as young men or women. Spirits are generic or specific, the former predominating.

All boys and some girls observe the quest, but adults are also privileged to obtain power. Adults, however, are less frequently successful than youths. The Kutenai quest is not of a single night's duration, except rarely. The suppliant prolongs the quest until success is achieved. This seldom requires longer than seven days. If the pursuit proves wholly fruitless a second attempt may be made at a later time. Before departing on his quest, the vision-seeker is sometimes smudged

[6] Cf. Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 238.

[7] This aligns with Radin's notion that shamans are the effective formalizers of religion in America (*Religion of the North American Indian*).

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over a fire of juniper. As among the Sanpoil, he receives an object to carry, but in this case it is highly symbolic. It represents a specific animal and aids in obtaining power from that animal. It is carried on a string around the neck and only occasionally deposited at the destination. Usually it is kept throughout life. 776 787

As suggested by the use of the symbol, particular spirits are often sought, the selection being made by the father. The spirit chosen is not uniformly one of those possessed by the parent, however. This links with specific statements that spirits are not hereditary. Further, a particular spirit always conveys a specific type of power. This suggests that in effect the search is directed toward a type of power rather than a specific spirit. It also indicates a wide divergence from the Sanpoil pattern.

Throughout the quest a fast is maintained. This parallels Sanpoil practice but the functional significance is slight in the latter case because of the brief duration. The Kutenai suppliant visits a definite spirit locale in the mountains or on the prairie but does not pile rocks except at the one spot where success is achieved. Diving in lakes is practiced with the definite anticipation of finding a spirit below. Caves are used for shelter and sought as possible spirit locales.

The Kutenai vision pattern exhibits several new elements. The experience may come in either a dream or a vision. The spirit, in the guise of animal or youth, appears, disappears, and reappears in various quarters. The conversation is less formalized than with the Sanpoil but instructions are given and promises made. A song is invariably conferred. Indeed, in some cases the spirit does not appear at all; only a song is heard. In this event the song conveys the nature of the power and the identity of the spirit. The spirit, or the song, is conceived as actually entering the visionary's body at a particular spot, causing a sort of hypnotism. Thenceforward the spot is sacred. When the individual wishes help he taps the spot and thus calls his guardian. To others the spot is tabu. Actual communion with the spirit is infrequent subsequent to the quest, but upon such occasions the spirit carries his charge back to the site of first contact. 533 776 787

The song is all important and all-sufficient to the experience. No dance step, animal cry, nor symbol is given to the visionary.

Unsought reception of spirit power is frequent among the Kutenai, not rare as with the Sanpoil. It is not essential that such power be accepted. 776 787

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The pattern of forgetting the spirit until maturity is entirely foreign to the Kutenai. The power apparently is effective from the moment of the experience. However, the nature of the experience and identity of the spirit are never revealed in words, not even upon the death bed. Disclosure would bring death. Of course the identity is guessed by others through the talents displayed.

The Kutenai do not seek more than one spirit, for power cannot thereby be multiplied. Informants ambiguously state that "one spirit carries the power (not the talents) of all." This may imply that the degree of spiritual power possessed by any man is more or less a constant, the avenue of utilization being restricted by the identity of the spirit. But it is difficult to reconcile the further declaration that certain spirits are more powerful than others. However, this may merely mean that shamanistic utilization of power is more potent than secular exploitation.

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The picture presented by the Lower Carrier differs both in many details and in general form. Only a few boys and even fewer girls seek spirit power. Adults may obtain power but acquisition during early years is more common. As among the Kutenai, the father often selects the spirit to be sought (except that the eldest son makes his own choice) but the spirit desired is not always achieved and the nature of the power conveyed is not uniformly consistent.

The seeker of lay power keeps daytime vigils for a period of a month while the aspirant to shamanism seeks power each night for a year. In each case the intervening hours, day or night, are spent at home, and wandering is restricted to the immediate vicinity. This may appear to be a partial parallel to Sanpoil practice but the resemblance is only apparent, not real. It is the pattern of the vision that proves this.

In the vision pattern two aspects stand out with a prominence which overshadows all else in the complex. First, the "vision" is a dream, or rather a series of dreams, which form both the soul and substance of the concept. Secondly, these dreams are initiated only through the agency of a proctor.

To the south we have seen an old man or parent in a minimal role of proctor, supervising and instructing the suppliant, but the latter always enters upon the quest alone and achieves success only through his own initiative. In contrast the Carrier visionary assumes a distinctly passive role and success depends upon the power and knowledge

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of the proctor.[8] The objective differs also; power or spirit guardianship as such are not sought. It is the ability to dream at will that is desired. A vague store of power is never conveyed, nor is the possession of a spirit of any efficacy in itself. A man can call supernatural power into play for his advantage only through dreaming. And if this power is to be available at critical moments the ability to dream at will must be possessed. Thus the real measure of success in the spirit quest is not the identity of the spirit nor the nature of the power, but the degree to which dreams become volitional.

The ability to dream is achieved by the proctor sleeping with the suppliant under a blanket symbolic of the power sought. The bed is usually made in the sweat house and the vigils begin at about ten years of age. As noted above, lay power comes through sleeping in the daytime, but shamanistic power is achieved at night. The shamanistic aspirant may sleep in the sweat house, but often he goes to a cremation place. This is not that he may receive an ancestral spirit, but that he may come in close contact with the forces of life and death and the influences of deceased shamans. The latter often become the visionary's temporary proctors, so that he may sleep in fact alone and yet not in effect be alone. Often he "awakens" with a start to find himself high on a mountain top or in some other distant spot. But the spirits who carried him there also return him to the original spot.

For the lay seeker, sleeping does not occupy the entire day. Other activities include sweating, massaging with spruce boughs, bathing, and wandering about. This wandering is accomplished in a trance which makes the visionary unaware of his actions or his path.

The vigils are ended and success ascertained through sleeping with a shaman. Up to this point the proctor is ordinarily the child's father. If the shaman awakens suddenly and jumps up shouting, success is indicated. Otherwise the quest is prolonged. Spirits themselves are highly restricted both in number and type. Only a few animals function and even fewer birds and insects. Natural phenomena and heavenly

[8] In discussing puberty fasting among the Ojibwa, Radin makes certain general observations concerning the spirit quest which are pertinent here. He evaluates the importance of the parent or proctor in determining the nature of the spirit experience. He also discusses the degree to which the experience is reinterpreted in later years: "The dream experience formula probably does not exist at the time of fasting in any clearly defined form, but it probably represents the increasing influence of the cultural environment, and the knowledge of those details of the fast that he learns from the generation of his parents and grandparents, as he grows older" (*Some Aspects of Puberty Fasting*, pp. 75–78).

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bodies are not uncommon. Fabricated objects may serve, but not other inanimate things. The spirits always appear in "true" or animal form, but may have certain human characteristics. The conceptual nature and generic source of shamanistic power do not differ from lay power, but both the quest and the spirits are specialized. The details of one's quest dreams and the identity of one's spirits are never disclosed, though the proctor knows, of course, and one's activities provide clues.

Among other bands of the Carrier the above practices are varied somewhat. Jenness provides the following instructive remarks:

> Carrier Indians to the eastward, at Fraser Lake and beyond, made every youth seek an animal protector or guardian spirit, and taught him how he might gain it. Night after night during the summer months the youth wandered away alone or in company with another to sleep in solitude on a hillside, or beside a lake or a river, where an unbroken silence promoted dreaming and the contact of his shadow with the world of animals. The weirder or more dangerous his sleeping-place the more hope he entertained of achieving his quest. Some youths therefore slept on boughs overhanging the water, or hung, head downward over a rock-slide, secured from falling by a thong around one leg; some slept in graveyards, which the Indians tended to avoid on other occasions. Not every dream betokened a significant visitation from the animal world, but only a dream so vivid that it printed itself indelibly on the memory. Then the bird, the fish, or the animal so revealed became the youth's guardian spirit, which he could summon to his aid in time of crises. . . .
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> At Fraser Lake and Stoney Creek . . . the Indians conceived that most youths were unsuccessful in their quest, that only a favored few obtained guardian spirits, and that these few became the medicine-men able to cure diseases and foresee the future. . . .
>
> The lay Indian (as well as the shaman) did not cease to dream, or to believe that his dreams opened up contact with the spiritual world and thereby brought him substantial benefits. If he was swift of foot his swiftness came from dreams in which he seemed to pursue and overtake the fleeting caribou; if unusually successful in his salmon fishing his success came from dreaming about the salmon; for even the layman's dreams gave him power to accomplish whatever the dream signified.
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> [One of Jenness' informants furnished this telling anecdote:] "I have never dreamed a great deal, so I have never been a very successful hunter. One season I caught a beaver, not in the jaws of the trap, but with the chain, which became wound round the animal's legs. I do not know why this should have happened, because I have seldom dreamed about the beaver, and never of catching a beaver in that unusual manner."[9]

[9] Jenness, *Carrier Religion*.

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This suggests another aspect of the Lower Carrier pattern. The visionary dreams of many animals, though only one or a few prove to be those he can subsequently recall in dreams. Regardless of the tutelary received, the final dream of the quest series is of the grizzly bear.

The Cultural Role

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The descriptions above are deficient in at least one respect. They convey no dependable notion of the significance of each concept in relation to the rest of the culture, or the degree to which the concept molds and influences daily life. There are clues, it is true. The Kutenai and the Sanpoil require universal participation of males in the quest whereas but few of the Lower Carrier take part, many of whom at least partially fail. On the other hand, the dramatic nature of the Carrier quest is impressive, but the venture occupies only a month or a year of a man's life.

Upon first contact with the Sanpoil I was deeply impressed both by the intensity of the role played by the guardian spirit and by the extent to which it influenced the culture. Naturally I was uncertain whether this impression was the result of a relatively greater emphasis by the Sanpoil, or merely reflected my own ignorance of Plateau culture. The latter might well have been the case, but after long contact with Plateau peoples I feel more strongly than ever that the group of cultures typified by the Sanpoil represent the high point of the area in this respect. In another place I have expressed my convictions as follows:

> Perhaps nowhere in America did the guardian spirit concept play so great a role in the lives of a people as among the Salishan groups of the [American] Plateau. . . . Not only was the guardian spirit idea highly developed here as a formal religious complex in which very nearly every man participated, but that participation was no passive acquiescence to cultural tradition. It was rather an intense identification highly charged with emotional content. . . . Here spirits were ever present. A man and his tutelary led parallel existences; the one had only to reach out, so to speak, and draw the other to him when the occasion made unitary action or cooperation desirable. The power inherent in the guardian spirit was not, in other words, a talent once conferred and thereafter effective, or a vague store of energy to be drawn upon when needed; but rather a highly specific relationship with a powerful ally available for personal action in any exigency. . . .
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> In everyday life this intimacy of relationship was reflected in countless references to one's own or another's tutelary, and in the invariable explanation

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with that of central and southern Plateau groups. An observation by Jenness is to the point:

> Nevertheless, [Carrier] dreams were so erratic, visitations from the animal world so ungovernable, that no Indian hunter cared to stake all his fortunes upon them. He believed that in ancient days the animals themselves had delivered to him a powerful weapon by disclosing certain "medicines" and rituals that would deliver the game into his hands.[11]

(The latter belief is unknown to the south.)

One last example may illuminate the judgements above. Olson writes, "Nothing bulked larger in Quinault life than the acquisition and control of supernatural power."[12] Now it is certain that the Lower Chinook gave spiritual power greater emphasis than did the Quinault. Further, the Chinook

> quest differed very slightly from that of the Plateau. Even though an interior group as far distant as the Kalispel of northern Idaho be taken for comparison, the quest exhibits no significant difference; while even minor details are impressively similar.[13]

Yet it would never occur to me to equate the *functional intensity* of the Chinook concept and that of the Kalispel, the former is so much the slighter.

Conceptual Factors

For introduction I may refer to the quotation above in which the role of the spirit guardian and helper is discussed and the colloquialism "my partner" is mentioned.

The expression "my power" is also frequently heard among the English speaking natives of the central Plateau. The two terms "partner" and "power" seem to be used interchangeably. On the other hand the natives seldom or never speak of "spirits" or of "spirit power." Nor do they say "partner power." These English speaking habits have led to considerable confusion and have obscured the point made above. Cline, for example, states of the Southern Okanogan that "One's guardian spirit dwelt somewhere in the woods or mountains, and came to him when he thought of it or needed its aid," a formulation corresponding exactly to that given above. But he also says,

[11] Jenness, *op. cit.*
[12] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 141.
[13] Ray, *Historical Position*, p. 370.

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> Though one's power was something quite distinct from his soul, the Okanagon believed, in a vague way, that it resided inside him, perhaps in his chest or in his heart. . . . The "spirit" was perhaps the guardian spirit in animal or other guise, as opposed to the formless potency which one had obtained from it and which abided within him.[14]

Do the Southern Okanogan really make this unusual distinction? The answer may be sought in the terminology of the native language. The term su·mi'x (Southern Okanogan) is used, with dialectical variations, throughout the region as the sole term for the designation of the guardian spirit or the power associated with the spirit. In the translation of native texts the interpreter sometimes translates su·mi'x as "power," sometimes as "partner," and when he learns the ethnologist's term spirit, he adds that to the variants. But to the naïve informant the term spirit usually, if not always, calls up the notion of ghost or soul rather than guardian. But I have never encountered the slightest conceptual confusion between guardian spirit and soul anywhere in the Plateau. Spier states of the Klamath, "Souls and ghosts are separate entities, and again are sharply distinct from spirits."[15] The Sanpoil, like certain other Plateau groups, locate the soul near the heart or thereabouts, but nowhere in the entire area is the spirit conceived as residing in the body. Even among the Kutenai, where the spirit enters the body during the vision, it immediately leaves and must be called back when needed. Therefore it appears certain that Cline is confusing informants' statements regarding the soul and the spirit, when, in the statements above, he distinguishes between spirit and power and localizes the latter in the body.[16]

This is not to deny that distinctions between spirit and power exist in parts of the Plateau, or that power or talents are not conferred which are effective without constant spirit presence. The Klamath do not receive guardians that serve as familiars, but merely derive abiding power from a supernatural experience involving a spirit. Spier observes that

> The Klamath concept apparently holds for all tribes of the Pacific coast. There does not appear anywhere the Plains type of quest for particular sanctions. The spirits of the experiences are not guardians, they are not invoked (save by shamans), and they give continuing powers to perform the arts or professions or for success and wealth.[17]

[14] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 133.
[15] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 100.
[16] The distinction between soul and spirit is further discussed below.
[17] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 250.

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The specific sanction is unknown even to the Plains-like Kutenai or Flathead. But the generalization concerning invoked guardians does not hold for a great part of the Plateau. Specific and necessary invocation is practiced by the Tenino, Umatilla, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead; the Kutenai, Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan (see above); and the Shuswap. Among the Carrier the spirit reappears throughout life in dreams. In the other groups the spirit is recalled in a formalized manner, often by singing. Among the Lillooet, Thompson, and Chilcotin the notion seems to be more that of continuing talents. The latter have undoubtedly been influenced by the Coast. Four distinct patterns emerge: sanctions, limited to the Plains; inherent power, typical of the Coast and penetrating to the Klamath; volitional dreams, perhaps typical of the Mackenzie Basin; and invocation of ever-present spirits, unquestionably typical of the Plateau.

A related matter demands consideration. The Plateau notion is not that spirits cannot be identified with man or enter man's body; but rather that such identification or intrusion is unusual, the common condition being that of separate existences. Intrusion during the vision appears unique to the Kutenai, though the hypnotism or unconsciousness accompanying visions of the Tenino, Klikitat, and Umatilla may be the result of intrusion or possession. More probably, however, it is the strength of the power that causes the reaction. These groups, far removed from the Kutenai, are contiguous and open to influences from the Coast where violent reactions are thus interpreted.

Intrusion of another's spirit is recognized as a definite cause of disease by the Tenino, Wishram, Klikitat, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, and Lower Thompson. To the north of the Thompson the spirit is the agent causing the intrusion of an object. This is exactly the Klamath notion. The intrusive spirit, then, uniformly characterizes the central and southern Plateau, except the Klamath. It may be considered typical of the Plateau, though not exclusive to it. The Chinook share the concept, possibly borrowed from the Klikitat or Wishram, but it is not known among the Quinault, the Tillamook, or coastal tribes to the south.[18]

A further type of spirit intrusion or possession is that occurring upon the return of the spirit at maturity after an absence following

[18] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 244; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 122; Olson, *Quinault Indians*, pp. 141 ff.; Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, pp. 188–91.

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acquisition. This appears to have been a local development among the Sanpoil, Kalispel, and perhaps the Southern Okanogan.[19] The spirit possesses the person, must be removed and "brought under control" by a shaman, then rubbed back onto the person to reëstablish the relationship but not to remain there. This procedure is undoubtedly related to the Thompson and Lillooet practice of rubbing on a spirit retrieved after being lost and the Kittitas and Wenatchi custom in which a shaman may seize a wandering spirit and rub it into one of his sons.

The identification which forms the basis of the Bluejay complex[20] constitutes a final significant example of coincidence of man and spirit.

Objective Elements

From conceptual factors we may turn to certain features of somewhat greater objectivity for further historic perspective. The duration of the quest has been mentioned above. One night vigils characterize the south central Plateau (Tenino, Wishram, Umatilla, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel) and the Flathead. The Nez Percé and Klamath vigils continue for five days; this may be due to coastal influence. In the Canadian Plateau extended quests are the rule with durations as follow: Kutenai, one to seven days; Shuswap, three days plus; Thompson, four to eight days; Lillooet, two days to one year; Chilcotin, four days; Carrier, each day for thirty days. Extended quests are occasionally observed by the Umatilla and more often by the Kalispel. These data fall into three patterns: one night for the south central Plateau; several days for the Canadian Plateau and margins of the southern area; and consecutive daily vigils for a definite period, the Carrier form.[21]

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The association of the spirit quest with a formal training period for youths, or puberty observances, is found in the southern area of the Canadian Plateau, but not beyond. The general type is described by Teit for the Thompson[22] but it is the Lillooet who carry it to the extreme in duration. The combined spirit-seeking and training for the profession of shaman requires eight to nine years, during which only frequent visits home are made. The training includes sleeping in a

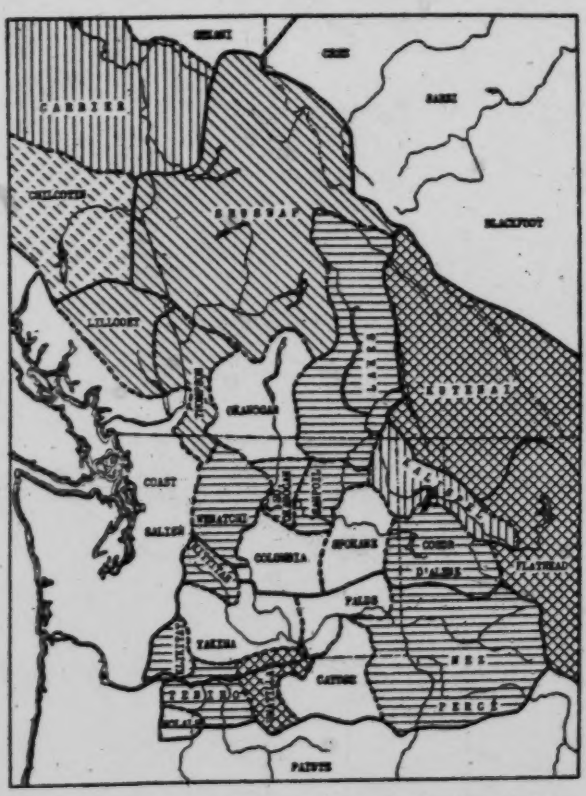
[19] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 142.

[20] See below; see Ray, *Bluejay Character*.

[21] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 138; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 248; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 95; Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 588; Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 318.

[22] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 317–21.

sweat house in an isolated spot in the mountains, sweating, massaging with conifer twigs, attempted trips to the land of the dead, mock shamanistic treatment, and the use of a human skull as a cup. Upon brief visits to the village the boy visits his shaman proctor and demonstrates



MAP 7. Period of the guardian spirit quest. *Horizontal hatching:* pre-puberty; *diagonal hatching:* puberty especially, also post-puberty; *cross hatching:* any age, pre-puberty especially; *vertical hatching:* any age, puberty especially; *broken hatching:* middle age.

his abilities. The proctor may send him back or declare that he has achieved his goal. Among the Thompson, Okanogan, and Shuswap the training is much less extreme in form and duration. The training period

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appears to be a local development much influenced by Coast ritualism. The age at which a guardian spirit may be acquired varies considerably through the Plateau. Several patterns may be isolated: pre-puberty (minimum age, six to ten years); puberty (range of two or three years); post-puberty (terminated by maturity); and middle age. A practice limited to the Southern Okanogan admits children of three to six years to the quest. In no group may elderly persons hope for success. The periods are not in all cases mutually exclusive. Another aspect which must be considered is the recognition of one period or circumstance as more favorable than another. Two categories are prominent: puberty and periods of crises. Data are scarce on the latter point and little can be added to Spier's discussion, except that recognition of crises as significant by the Klamath appears unique in the American Plateau.[23]

The pre-puberty quest as the exclusive form is noted for the Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi ("virgins only"), Southern Okanogan ("almost always"), Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé (?),[24] that is, the south central area. Those recognizing prepuberty as the principal or most favorable period, but not wholly excluding later quests, include the Klamath, Umatilla, Flathead, and Kutenai, all marginal groups. The Canadian Salish constitute a third distinct group, in which puberty is the initial and most favorable time but later quests are not infrequent. Only among the Chilcotin is a premium placed upon middle age as a time for acquiring power. This is undoubtedly linked with the prolonged dreaming of the Carrier.

Throughout the Plateau a wide range of spirits serve as guardians. The Chilcotin share this trait to a limited degree but the Carrier do not. Regional specialization is to be seen, however. Inanimate objects play an important role only among the Kutenai, Kalispel, Shuswap, Thompson, and possibly Lillooet, a continuous distribution undoubtedly representing local elaboration of a more widespread notion.[25] The occurrence of mythological beings as guardian spirits forms an interesting distribution, for the source of the concept is unquestionably the Coast, where it is often the type. The instances are all on the Columbia River,

[23] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 94.

[24] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 239; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 137; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 249–50.

[25] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 238; cf. Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 76 f.

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rule, but it is weaker among the Shuswap than others. This may be due to contact with the Carrier, where the question is hardly a pertinent one (see above), but specialization is not characteristic. The Kutenai stand alone in assuming that spirits are specialized and yet that a man may obtain only one.

Since particularized powers characterize the Coast it seems obvious that we are dealing with but two centers, the Coast and the south central Plateau. Coastal influences up the Fraser Valley may well account for the specialization there, while less direct trans-Cascade diffusion plus marginal variation may be inferred in the other cases. This assumes that *non-specialization* is a positive element. I think this must be granted; it is obvious when expressed correctly but awkwardly, "Any spirit may grant any power." Specialization of spirits must not be confused with the granting of specialized talents, a universal feature in the Plateau.

Not unrelated to the above is intentional search for a specific spirit, or any of a group of spirits conferring similar power. One might surmise that the intentional search would be coextensive with specialized spirits. This is exactly the case at the extremes. Groups with modified specialization align with those lacking it: quest objectives are indefinite. In speaking of definite objectives as lacking it is not implied that blessings of a general nature—good luck, health, wealth—are not sought and expected.[36] This brings into relief an aspect of the spirit concept often overlooked. Favors of two kinds are invariably conveyed throughout the Plateau: general good fortune and a specific talent. It is the latter which may or may not be specialized according to spirit identity. One further note: in the area where specific objectives are absent, they are only *formally* lacking. The youth undoubtedly harbors secret desires in many cases. Indeed, this surely accounts for the specific nature of many a vision.

The inheritance of spirits is a knotty problem since the interpretations of inheritance are numerous. A spirit may be strictly hereditary in the lineage, perhaps unilaterally. This system prevails on the Coast north of the Quinault, resulting in some cases in "spirit quests" that are merely empty forms for ritualistic purposes.[37] Heredity of this

p. 237; cf. Park, *Shamanism*, p. 86; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 133 ff.; Spinden, *Nez Perce Indians*, p. 249. [36] Cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 95.

[37] E.g., Boas, *Social Organization and Secret Societies*, pp. 503 ff.

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want you to imitate me. I'll do good for you if you will do good for me. I'm lost now and I want you for my partner." The one addressed is not privileged to reject the proposal without becoming seriously ill. Acceptance, too, involves unavoidable illness unless one's former power be greater than that which he is to receive from the spirit-ghost. The illness is similar to that caused by the first return of an ordinary spirit, but more intense. A shaman must be called, who removes the spirit-ghost, brings it under control, and returns it to the patient. Thereafter its power is available for use in much the same manner as ordinary spirit power.[41]

It seems highly probable that some, at least, of the cases of "inheritance" are actually of this order. This pattern, slightly modified, fits Klamath inheritance perfectly. The Klamath shaman's "spirits and clairvoyant powers are released by his death and must go to someone else. If his relatives keep his pipe or other paraphernalia about, it is certain that his spirits will come to one of them."[42]

To a slight extent the Shuswap share the belief and it is entirely possible that Teit's statements concerning power derived from ghosts is the result of the confusion of the soul-ghost and the spirit-ghost. The Chilcotin lack the concept, as do the Carrier. But among the latter a shaman may sometimes effect the transfer of a spirit from a father to his son.

The spirit-ghost notion indeed involves inheritance and may be built upon a generalized concept borrowed from the Coast. But it is certainly cast in a Plateau mold and centers well to the interior. It is surely significant that the transfer is not always to a relative (Kalispel, Kutenai) and that it may be "given" by the patient to the attending shaman or wholly discarded (Tenino, Umatilla, Southern Okanogan,[43] Sanpoil).

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One of the profoundest points of distinction in the spirit concept is the mode of reception, whether by true vision, or dream, or a combination of the two. I have pointed out above that the experience may take place in a half-waking (or half-sleeping) state and yet be culturally classified as definitely dream, or definitely vision. Since the problem

[41] Description based on the Sanpoil pattern; among certain other groups the illness is less severe or absent.

[42] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 97.

[43] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 153.

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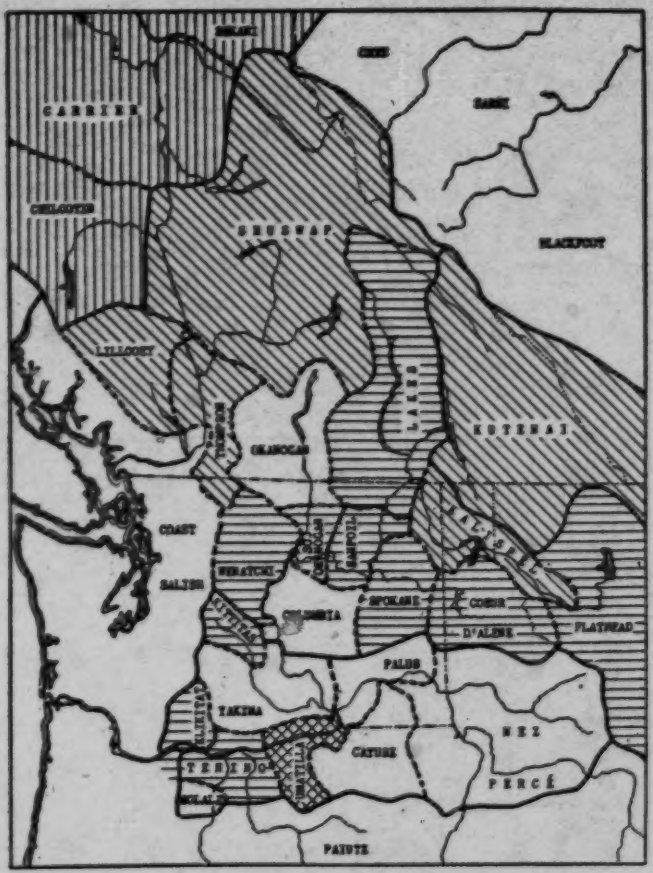
here is rather more historical than psychological, the classification of the native will be used regardless of other factors. Spier and Park have tackled this problem for regions to the south.[44] The data here will merely provide a northern extension. Among the Umatilla, not far



MAP 10. Types of quest experience. *Horizontal hatching:* vision only; *diagonal hatching:* vision, induced dream; *vertical hatching:* voluntary dream; *cross hatching:* vision, dream (involuntary?).

north of the Klamath, the pattern of the latter is maintained. That is, both the vision and dream are present. It is not certain that the particular phrasing is that of the Klamath, a quest followed by a dream

[44] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 250 ff.; Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 108 ff.

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upon return. In the south central Plateau the vision is exclusively found (Tenino, Wishram, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead).[45] In the Canadian Plateau the presence of both dream and vision is encountered once more (Kutenai, Kalispel, Shuswap, Thompson, Lillooet). This recurrence becomes intelligible when the Athabascan pattern is examined. The dream is exclusive for the Carrier and typical if not exclusive for the Chilcotin and Sekani.[46] The dream in the north, however, is not the involuntary dream of California, the Southwest, and the Klamath (also Umatilla ?) but a dream induced by highly formal means (see above). The involuntary dream conferring spirit-ghost power in the American Plateau has been confused with the spirit dream.[47] It is conceivable, but doubtful, that involuntary dreaming, as a separable pattern, indicates southern connections. It must not be forgotten that involuntary dreaming is a human biological pattern. The voluntary, i.e., induced, dream among the Athabascans must be interpreted as a distinctive Mackenzie trait; it is not a Plains element (though a markedly formalized exception appears with the Dakota[48]).

Shaman versus Layman

An informative aspect of the spirit concept is the distinction drawn between shaman and layman. Of course, where specialized spirits are recognized, certain ones being reserved for shamans, the distinction is automatically made. But it is pertinent to ask whether this is the only distinction or if other factors may play a role. Regardless of the tutelaries, is the quest identical for shaman and layman? The answer is positive for the entire Plateau excepting the Lillooet. Among the latter the shaman's quest is of markedly greater duration, activities differ, and shamanistic sponsorship is necessary (see above). There is the slightest suggestion of specialized activities among the Shuswap and Thompson; while the other two aspects of Lillooet practice, duration and sponsorship, point toward the Carrier. In this matter the Carrier affiliate with the Mackenzie area, or at least not with the Plateau. A

[45] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 139; Murdock, personal correspondence: "My own data are definitely negative on the dream in the spirit quest; the experience was strongly alleged to be a true waking experience (vision) and in no respect a dream or dreamlike, nor was there a dream upon return; Tenino dreams, I believe, are almost exclusively prophetic."

[46] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, pp. 68 ff.

[47] Park, *Shamanism*, p. 111.

[48] Wissler, *Societies and Ceremonial Associations*, p. 81.

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further question: Is the vision type identical for shaman and layman? An affirmative answer here finds no exception but the Carrier, where the difference is marked (see above). A further common feature is the possession of greater power by the shaman. But this does not necessarily imply the possession of a greater number of spirits. However, the only exceptions are the Kalispel and Coeur d'Alêne, adjacent groups.

In this connection a statement made by Park requires attention:

> Throughout most of the Plateau area, the shaman is set off from other members of the group *simply* as the one who has greater but *not different* power. . . . The shaman is differentiated largely by the amount of power that he possesses and the curative results which he is *thereby* enabled to obtain.[49]

This would apply to the Klamath, as Spier's specific statements indicate[50] but certainly not to any other Plateau group, the Carrier included. Indeed, actual conceptions are just the reverse of this. No matter how strong a man's power may be, no matter how many guardians he may possess, he is utterly incapable of performing as a shaman unless (1) he has received a definite shamanistic spirit, or (2) he has been specifically commissioned by the spirit at the time of the quest vision, or (3) he has received shamanistic power by heredity. This point can not be too strongly emphasized since an inference like that by Park is so readily drawn from a description of spirits as non-specialized. Park was at the further disadvantage of having available only meager material upon which to base his conclusion; his assumptions grew naturally out of these circumstances.

Accompanying non-specialization—the notion that any spirit is capable of conveying any type of power—is invariably the further belief that upon *particular* occasion a spirit always conveys a *particular* type of power.

Throughout the Plateau (Wishram to Flathead, Klamath to Carrier) male shamans dominate numerically. But equally universally, women are admitted to the profession and considered wholly equal to men in ability and strength. At the mouth of the Columbia, among the Lower Chinook, female shamans are as numerous as male. This is true of other coastal groups as well. In the Plains the male figures almost to the exclusion of the female.[51] The Plateau is obviously intermediate. The unity

[49] Park, *Shamanism*, p. 92. Italics mine.
[50] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 107, 123.
[51] Benedict, *Vision in Plains Culture*, p. 2.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

horse may have contributed somewhat to their present spirit of improvidence. The horses feed in large droves, each marked with some sign of ownership, generally by clipping the ears, and when required for use are taken by the lariat, in the use of which all the natives have some skill, though far inferior to the Mexican *vaqueros*. The method of breaking and training horses is a quick and an effectual one. It consists of catching and tying the animal; then buffalo-skins and other objects are thrown at and upon the trembling beast, until all its fear is frightened out of it. When willing to be handled, horses are treated with great kindness, but when refractory, the harshest measures are adopted. They are well trained to the saddle, and accustomed to be mounted from either side. They are never shod and never taught to trot. The natives are skillful riders, so far as the ability to keep their seat at great speed over a rough country is concerned, but they never ride gracefully, and rarely if ever perform the wonderful feats of horsemanship so often attributed to the western Indians. A loose girth is used under which to insert the knees when riding a wild horse. They are hard riders, and horses in use always have sore backs and mouths. Women ride astride, and quite as well as the men; children also learn to ride about as early as to walk.[189] Each nation has its superstitions; by each individual is recognized the influence of unseen powers, exercised usually through the medium of his medicine animal chosen early in life. The peculiar customs arising from this belief in the supernatural are not very numerous or complicated, and belong rather to the religion of these people treated elsewhere. The Pend d'Oreille, on approaching manhood,

[189] In moving, the girls and small boys ride three or four on a horse with their mothers, while the men drive the herds of horses that run loose ahead. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3, 306. Horses left for months without a guard, and rarely stray far. They call this 'caging' them. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 187, 47, 56. 'Babies of fifteen months old, packed in a sitting posture, rode along without fear, grasping the reins with their tiny hands.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. xii., pt. ii., p. 130, with plate; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 404–5; *Palliser's Rept.*, p. 73; *Farnham's Trav.*, pp. 81–2; *Lommech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 64; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 365; *Franchère's Nar.*, pp. 269–71; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 110–11.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

771 787 was sent by his father to a high mountain and obliged to remain until he dreamed of some animal, bird, or fish, thereafter to be his medicine, whose claw, tooth, or feather 825 was worn as a charm. The howling of the medicine-wolf and some other beasts forebodes calamity, but by the Okanagans the white-wolf skin is held as an emblem of royalty, and its possession protects the horses of the tribe from evil-minded wolves. A ram's horns left in the trunk of a tree where they were fixed by the misdirected zeal of their owner in attacking a native, were much venerated by the Flatheads, and gave them power over all animals so long as they made frequent offerings 751 at the foot of the tree. The Nez Percés had a peculiar 783 custom of overcoming the *mawish* or spirit of fatigue, and thereby acquiring remarkable powers of endurance. The ceremony is performed annually from the age of eighteen to forty, lasts each time from three to seven days, and consists of thrusting willow sticks down the throat into the stomach, a succession of hot and cold 756 baths, and abstinence from food. Medicine-men acquire or renew their wonderful powers by retiring to the mountains to confer with the wolf. They are then invulnerable; a bullet fired at them flattens on their breast. To allowing their portraits to be taken, or to the operations of strange apparatus they have the same aversion 343 that has been noted on the coast.[190] Steam baths are 515 universally used, not for motives of cleanliness, but some- 783 times for medical purposes, and chiefly in their superstitious ceremonies of purification. The bath-house is a hole dug in the ground from three to eight feet deep, and sometimes fifteen feet in diameter, in some locality where wood and water are at hand, often in the river bank. It is also built above ground of willow branches covered with grass and earth. Only a small hole is left 753 825

[190] 'L'aigle.....est le grand oiseau de médecine.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46, 205; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 494–5; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 212, and in *De Smet's West. Miss.*, pp. 285–6; *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 297; *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 208–9; *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 64, vol. ii., p. 19; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 267, 280–1, 318.